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REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Letter dated 23 September 1996 from the Permanent Representative of Iraq to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a letter dated 22 September 1996 addressed to you by Mr. Mohammed Said Al-Sahaf, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Iraq.

I should be grateful if you would have the present letter and its annex circulated as a document of the General Assembly, under agenda item 81, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Nizar HAMDOON
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

ANNEX

Letter dated 22 September 1996 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq addressed to the Secretary-General

I refer to the letters I have addressed to you in the past reporting on a small number of the United States attempts to interfere in Iraq's internal affairs, undermine its security and stability and destroy its national unity.

1. In my letter of 28 April 1995 (S/1995/354, annex), I informed you that news agencies around the world, quoting The New York Times for 12 April 1995, had reported that the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) had allocated 15 million dollars for the funding of its operations against Iraq and the recruitment outside Iraq of agents for employment in such operations.

2. In my letter of 30 August 1995 (S/1995/752, annex), I informed you of a statement made by a spokesman for the United States Department of State at a daily press briefing on 28 August 1995 to the effect that the United States of America would pursue its efforts to change the political regime in Iraq and would continue to bring pressure to bear on the Iraqi Government until such time as it was replaced by a government favourable to the United States.

3. In my letter of 28 March 1996 (S/1996/229, annex), I drew your attention to an article published in the 26 March 1996 issue of the British newspaper The Independent reporting statements made by a CIA agent who admitted that he had planted car bombs in the cities of Baghdad and Salah al-Din and in other places in Iraq and that he had done so on direct instructions from the CIA.

4. In my letter of 10 September 1996 (A/51/345-S/1996/739, annex), I communicated to you the remarks made on 9 September 1996 by United States President Bill Clinton. He said that the United States was doing "everything we can to get out of Iraq ... those who have worked with us" in Iraq, adding that "we are doing everything we can to help anybody that needs to be out of Iraq". The United States President explicitly indicated that his country was interfering in Iraq's internal affairs when he said:

> "Our ability to keep an eye on events taking place in Iraq is limited. However, we have accomplished something I think is important ... when we saw that what he had done violated United Nations resolutions, that he was oppressing his people and had launched a military attack on Irbil. What we have done is to expand and reinforce the no-flight zone by striking at the anti-aircraft defences. This means that every day he has to pay for his ability to manoeuvre within his country and to threaten his neighbours ... we have done what we felt was needed there."

There is also the statement made on 6 February 1996 in an address to the Washington Institute for Near East Policy by United States Secretary of Defense William J. Perry, as reported by Agence France-Presse on 7 February, to the effect that he believed that there was something the United States could do, together with Jordan and other countries of the region, to expedite the overthrow of the present Iraqi regime.

These examples demonstrate the extent to which the United States is persisting in the pursuit of its openly hostile policies against the people of Iraq and its national Government. These policies have found expression not only in concrete military action and in constant threats to attack Iraq and destroy its national infrastructure but also in continued interference in Iraq's internal affairs with a view to undermining its security and stability, impairing its sovereignty and destroying its national unity.

There are many senior officials in the United States Administration who express hostility to Iraq on one occasion or another. They frankly admit that funds are allocated and agents recruited and that logistic and technical assistance are provided to members of the self-styled "opposition" in order to help them to overthrow the national system of governance in Iraq.

Recent events in northern Iraq have demonstrated that the United States of America is directly involved in operations against Iraq that are planned and led by the CIA, in open interference and in putting pressure on Iraqi citizens, recruiting them for insurgency against their Government and preventing them from entering into dialogue with that Government with a view to solving an internal problem by peaceful means. All of this made President Clinton, on 9 September 1996, admit the predicament of United States agents in northern Iraq owing to the rallying of the national forces of the people of Iraq, Arabs and Kurds, around their national leadership in order to defend Iraq's sovereignty and independence and repel all outside attempts to interfere in Iraq's internal affairs and undermine its national unity.

In many recent articles, major British newspapers have reported overt United States interference in Iraq's internal affairs and the fact that the CIA employs numerous "assets" inside Iraq to carry out clandestine operations against Iraq's national Government. I provide you hereunder with examples from such articles.

1. On 9 September 1996, in an article by Jeffrey Smith under the headline "Saddam's assault on Irbil broke CIA-funded operation", The Guardian reported that:

> "The Iraqi military's takeover of Irbil ... broke up a longstanding CIA-funded covert operation to destabilize the Baghdad Government ..."

2. On 10 September 1996, in an article under the headline "Arabs flee, abandoned and fearing for their lives", The Guardian reported as follows:

> "President Saddam's thrust into the formerly protected Kurdish zone broke up the CIA-funded operation, and the handful of CIA officers stationed in Irbil fled."

3. On 9 September 1996, in an article under the headline "Attack 'ends CIA plot' to oust Saddam", The Daily Telegraph stated that:

> "Washington has been quietly backing the dissident group known as the Iraqi National Congress since 1992 as a means of uniting Kurds and other ethnic groups in the north as an alternative to the regime of Saddam. Tens of

> millions of dollars were poured into a CIA effort to create a cohesive force ... Despite disappointment voiced by agents in Iraq, President Clinton expanded the operation in January, signing a secret executive order to ship in weapons, in addition to satellite-oriented monitoring devices and encrypted telephones".

4. On 10 September 1996, in an article under the headline "Clinton helps CIA 'assets' to escape Saddam's forces", The Daily Telegraph reported that:

> "A senior United States official in Washington called the failed CIA mission a disaster. He said: 'This is one of the greatest setbacks United States intelligence has ever suffered'".

The newspaper also indicated that Director of Central Intelligence John M. Deutch might find himself with a problem since, according to White House officials, he had personally promised that the effort to oust Saddam would succeed within a year. According to the newspaper, some United States officials had said that President Clinton always dislikes clandestine operations, but that he had been convinced that this operation had a good chance of destroying Saddam.

The deployment of United States land, sea and air forces currently taking place along Iraq's borders is an overt threat of aggression under the terms of the Definition of Aggression annexed to General Assembly resolution 3314 (XXIX) of 14 December 1974.

The hostile actions of the United States represent a concrete example of organized State terrorism being committed against the people of Iraq by a major Power without regard for the humanitarian and material consequences that such illegal and unlawful actions may entail.

Moreover, the conduct of the United States represents an act of military and political compulsion directed against Iraq's political independence and territorial integrity. It also constitutes a dangerous precedent in international relations as a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the norms and provisions of international law and all the conventions and covenants that govern relations between States. This is so for the following reasons:

1. It constitutes a flagrant violation of the provisions of Article 1, paragraph 2, of the Charter of the United Nations, which states that one of the purposes of the United Nations is:

> "To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace".

2. It constitutes a breach of Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter of the United Nations, which states that:

"All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations".

3. It constitutes a violation of the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, annexed to General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV) of 24 October 1970, which reads, in part, as follows:

"The principle concerning the duty not to intervene in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of any State, in accordance with the Charter

"No State or group of States has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, or for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State. Consequently, armed intervention and all other forms of intervention or attempted threats against the personality of the State or against its political, economic and cultural elements, are in violation of international law.

"..."

The practices engaged in by the United States and its subsequent large-scale military mobilization, undertaken without regard for the widespread disapproval aroused in world public opinion, are in flagrant violation of the purposes and principles of the United Nations concerning the maintenance of international peace and security and respect for the sovereignty of States and the dignity of their nationals. This requires that the Organization should meet its responsibility to prevent aggression and avert the dangerous consequences of such aggression, which would exacerbate the bitter suffering of the Iraqi people caused by the insistence of the United States on maintaining the embargo against them.

The Government of Iraq urges the United Nations to take action to halt all the hostile practices threatening the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iraq. It regards the Government of the United States of America as bearing full international responsibility for the consequences of these illegal actions, and it affirms Iraq's unrestricted right to take whatever action it deems appropriate to defend its territorial integrity and the security of its people.

I should be grateful if you would have this letter circulated as a document of the General Assembly, under agenda item 81, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Mohammed Said AL-SAHAF
Minister for Foreign Affairs
of the Republic of Iraq